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CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Frank R. Barnett

Dear Mr. Barnett:

I appreciate your sending me a copy of your paper on "National Survival in the Nuclear Age." I found your analysis very interesting and agree with you that the problem of meeting the challenge of International Communism will tax the full resources of the Free World. We are fortunate to have private citizens like yourself devoting time and effort to developing a broader understanding in this country of the seriousness of this threat and the necessity for the widest participation in the task of countering Communist aggression in all its forms.

I assure you that your analysis and suggestions will receive fullest consideration within this Agency.

Sincerely,

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Allen V. Dulles
Director

PP [redacted] gvt

19 March 1956

Distribution: Orig & 1 - Addressee

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MAR 21 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

VIA: Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT: Mr. Frank R. Barnett's Essay on "National Survival in the Nuclear Age"

1. This memorandum suggests action on the part of the DCI. Such requested action is contained in Paragraph 4.
2. You asked that I give you my views on an appropriate reply to Mr. Frank Barnett's letter to you to which he had attached a copy of his paper on "National Survival in the Nuclear Age."
3. Mr. Barnett's paper discusses the problem of how the U.S. can more effectively meet the threat posed by Soviet Communism to the free world. He suggests that a new weapon, which he calls "psycho-social warfare," be added to the U.S. arsenal. Essentially he means by this that the U.S. should integrate all its resources, military, economic, and political-psychological, into an all-out ideological struggle against the Communist Empire. It is apparent from reading Mr. Barnett's essay that he has devoted a great deal of intelligent thought to this problem. His analysis is for the most part, I think, sound. In his proposed approach, however, he suggests a frontal assault on the internal weak points of the Soviet power structure. As you know, NSC 5501 recognizes that it is somewhat unrealistic to assume that the internal stresses and conflicts within the USSR are of such seriousness that the U.S. can hope, by action short of war, to precipitate the collapse of the regime from within.
4. There is attached a suggested reply to Mr. Barnett's letter.

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Attachment

Chief
 Psychological & Paramilitary
 Operations Staff

UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

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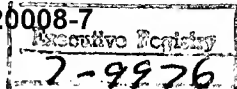
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Remarks:

John: The Director would like your thoughts on a proposed reply. He asked that you get this back as soon as possible.

FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER

| FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO. | DATE |
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| [Redacted] March 56 | |



STAT

March 2, 1956

Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director
Central Intelligence Agency
2430 "E" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

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DATE REVIEWED 19 MAR 81
AUTH: NR 75-2
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Dear Mr. Dulles:

It was a pleasure for me to renew my acquaintance with you at dinner party the other evening.

I hope my somewhat "brash" remarks about political warfare were not misinterpreted by anyone as criticism of the splendid work which I know your agency and Mr. Streibert's are doing. What I was trying to say -- rather badly I'm afraid -- was that American society in general is not hospitable to the conduct of psycho-social combat. Moreover, limited government cannot possibly compete -- on all sectors of the cold war battlefield -- with the Communist party working through total government to mobilize all the cultural, intellectual, financial and military resources of its empire.

I am enclosing a paper which I prepared for the Military-Industrial Conference in Chicago recently and subsequently delivered to the Army War College. It was certainly not meant to be critical of any agency of government -- but rather to persuade outside groups (particularly our business elite) to devote some of their energies and vitality to this struggle we are in.

A dinner party, I'm afraid, is not a particularly good place to conduct a "seminar" in the whole weapons-family of psycho-social combat. Believe me, as a citizen taxpayer I am one of a great many Americans who are delighted to pay for the things which you and Mr. Streibert are working on, and I don't want to leave the impression that I am being "negative". I think perhaps if you or one of your staff has time to read this paper you will see that I am really trying to support the operations of CIA by endeavoring to get outside groups to create a "moral and political framework" in which government agencies can move more efficiently to safeguard national survival.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Barnett
Frank R. Barnett

attachment

CAN AMERICA WIN THE COLD WAR
WITHOUT FIGHTING A HOT ONE?
(An Essay on "Nuclear" Politics)

Remarks by Frank Rockwell Barnett

Director of Research
The Richardson Foundation, Inc.*, New York City

at the

MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE
on
"National Survival in the Nuclear Age"

Chicago, Illinois
February, 1956

What Can We Do About the Soviet "Fourth Weapon"?

In the context of what we are told about the meaning of nuclear weapons for National Survival, it seems imperative to devise strategy to win the "cold" war. I therefore earnestly solicit this Military-Industrial Conference to consider three points:

- (1) Soviet Ideological Warfare is so "scientific" -- and has so much firepower -- that it actually constitutes a new form of "technology";
- (2) Soviet unorthodox technology -- which might be described as "fourth dimensional warfare" -- can outflank our hardware and outmode our kind of technology;
- (3) What are we going to do about it?***

* The opinions herein expressed do not necessarily represent those of the Richardson Foundation, Inc.

** Several specific suggestions -- in draft form -- will be found in Appendix I, attached.

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Ideological Warfare Can "Outmode" Technology

Last April, an American businessman offered his government blueprints for a remarkable new "invention" in the field of national defense. In our Individual Ownership Society such events are almost routine. The unusual feature of this invention was that -- although it was designed to avert nuclear conflict -- it had nothing to do with technology, as that word is normally defined in the free world. It had everything to do with the extraphysical "technology", developed in the arsenals of International Communism, which threatens to make orthodox military science "obsolescent". Its purpose was to counteract overwhelming Soviet superiority in ideological warfare.

Political Warfare Is Primary Threat

The businessman who devised that new type of weapon is both a general and an engineer thoroughly familiar with the technical problems confronting our military-industrial community. Yet here are the words of General Sarnoff, Chairman of the Radio Corporation of America:

"The primary threat today is political and psychological. That is the active front on which we are losing and on which, unless we reverse the trend, we shall be defeated Unless we meet this cumulative Communist threat with all the brains and weapons we can mobilize for the purpose, the United States at some point in the future will face the terrifying implications of Cold War defeat. It will be cornered, isolated, subjected to the kind of paralyzing fears that have already weakened the fibre of some technically free nations. We will have bypassed a nuclear war -- but at the price of our freedom and independence. I repeat: we can freeze to death as well as burn to death."¹

¹ Sarnoff, David; "Program For A Political Offensive Against World Communism"; 1955; p. 16. (Underlined words were originally italicized.)

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General Sarnoff's thesis suggests our need to pose the problem of "National Survival in the Nuclear Age" in two complementary forms:

- (1) How to ensure that America will always maintain supremacy in military hardware, logistics, delivery-systems, electronic warning devices, strategic materials, chemical and bacteriological warfare, conventional armaments, technical manpower, etc.; and
- (2) How can America win the Cold War and thus prevent a Hot War by mounting a political offensive to isolate and eventually paralyze the seat of Communist war-making power.

Only by taking the offensive -- by all means short of atomic war-- can we hope to offset continuing Communist aggression in the realm of ideas which delimit the use to which science can be applied. No society which gears its morale and metaphysics to the strategy of Nothing-But-Defense can hope to survive -- however formidable its technology.

We Can Lose -- With Our Arsenals Intact

The needs to achieve scientific supremacy and psycho-social "know-how" are inseparable. We cannot wield the sword of all-out psychological warfare unless we have a shield of air-atomic supremacy. On the other hand, we cannot guarantee our own survival by merely "staying ahead" of the Soviets in the area of science. We have been ahead of them during the past eleven years when, in spite of our technological superiority, they have scored terrifying victories by irregular methods. It is quite possible that American Civilization

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can be disoriented and destroyed with its technical resources intact. If our moral fuel cannot be replenished, if we disregard the innovations of our opponent or fail to match the courage and vitality of the "barbarian horde", if we forget our purpose and lose our passion as free men -- then, almost certainly, we shall be shot down "out of control" into the dead seas of history.

Our "Arsenal" Is Supremely Important

It is, of course, supremely important for this nation to win the contest of science and engineering with our Soviet opponents. If, at any stage of the race, the Communists precede us through the "thought barriers" of technical advance, we may expect no mercy. The Kremlin will not scruple to blackmail us into "peaceful coalition" in the World Soviet State. The questions discussed at this conference, therefore, are fearfully relevant to the survival of our civilization. We can never ask ourselves too earnestly: "How can a free society -- with many goals -- compete with a single-minded tyranny in war production, military invention, scientific creativity and technical skills?"

But The Arsenal Can Be Dismantled By "Politics"

And yet we dare not frame those questions for military-industrial research without taking into account the whole range of our enemy's capabilities and intentions. Unfortunately for us, the Communists are using political techniques to dismantle or inactivate our technology. They have learned the art, as well as the science of 20th century

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warfare. They have discovered that nuclear firepower can be spiked with "nuclear politics".*

Throughout all history, the pen (or the thought behind the pen) has proved mightier than the sword in determining the long-run course of events. Our age has altered the symbols but not the substance of that equation. Today, Communist psycho-social warfare is in some respects mightier than American cyclotrons. The enemy has introduced into political science the equivalent of non-Euclidean geometry and extra-Newtonian physics. Our own political techniques stand in relation to theirs as a 16th century cannon ball compares to the atomic warhead of a guided missile.

Nuclear Politics Can Interdict Hardware

Nuclear firepower is often impotent on battlefields selected, isolated and dominated by nuclear politics. (5,000 years of "diplomacy" suggest that espionage, policy diversion and world peace fronts, coupled with a "strategy of terror", can isolate a battleground much more effectively than airpower.) Political symbols can interdict hardware, as in Korea and at Dien Bien Phu. "Concepts" -- sometimes based on false hopes and irrational fears -- can provide sanctuary for

* Nuclear firepower, based on the principle of splitting the atom, enables a nation to turn enemy industrial and military sites into radioactive rubble. "Nuclear politics", based on the principle of splitting the opposition, enables a power group to seize an opponent's capital equipment intact. (In the framework of our ethics, it means (a) removing fraudulent Communist management -- by political means; and (b) turning the capital equipment back to the legitimate stockholders: the peoples of Russia, Poland, China, North Korea, Czechoslovakia, etc., etc.)

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enemy firepower or permit an opponent to occupy the all-commanding ramparts of Time.

At the present moment, American technology and industrial know-how are evidently incapable of preventing the Communists from:

- a. penetrating the Middle East with military and economic missions;
- b. increasing their stores of guided missiles, submarines, strategic bombers and hydrogen weapons;
- c. building airfields in North Korea in violation of the truce;
- d. infiltrating free Indo-China, South Korea, Africa and South America;
- e. working towards "legitimate" seizure of power in Indonesia;
- f. working to dismantle American airbases in North Africa, Iceland and elsewhere by political warfare techniques;
- g. maneuvering to unravel NATO military power with propaganda, peace offensives and "popular fronts";
- h. manipulating a World "Peace Front" designed to strait-jacket U. S. military power;
- i. training, literally, tens of thousands of "students" from underdeveloped areas in the arts of espionage, policy diversion, sabotage, guerrilla warfare, propaganda, agitation and cultural subversion.

Soviet-Style "Peace" Is Actually a Weapon

The alternative to atomic war is not "peace" as that word is defined by men-of-good-will. "Peace", to the Soviets, is something

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quite different from a genuine attempt to negotiate international disputes with due regard for justice and the primacy of reason. "Peace", to the Soviets, is a weapon, or rather a cloak for the daggers of subversion and irregular warfare. We try to "preserve" peace; they "wage" it. To us, "peace" is something finite, static. To them, "peace" is a perverted form of international group dynamics which enables Communism to envelop and encircle the last bastions of freedom. Soviet Peace, in short, means "conquest without hardware".*

The strategy of Genghis Khan -- as practiced by the conspiratorial elite of International Communism -- takes maximum advantage of our adherence to the "rules of the game" established by the Congress of Vienna. There is not one shred of evidence to indicate that the men in the Kremlin can be trusted to keep a "pledge" not to use nuclear weapons -- or any other promise whatsoever. There is a library of evidence -- and the ruined lives of millions of enslaved peoples -- to prove that Asiatic Communism cynically regards our code of ethics as the modern -- and psychological -- equivalent to the strangling noose by which traditional Oriental despots dispatched their victims.

At the price of defeat, the French learned that a Maginot line-- designed for a war of position -- was simply "not germane" to a war of movement. America has not yet learned that she is entangled in a "peace" of movement. Our psychological weapons are not capable of tracking the target. We have no political "fire control" -- no ideological radar. Our Aristotelian diplomacy cannot encompass multi-leveled Soviet strategy.

* Algebraic symbols can distinguish various meanings of "peace". For example: Peace₁ = war between Minor Powers only; Peace₂ = "police action" w/o use of atomic weapons; Peace₃ = nothing but non-military violence (revolution by judicial decree, administrative law and "legal"

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Needed: A Reappraisal of Defense Premises

It is imperative that our Defense Philosophy does not develop hardening of the categories. The danger is real, for we are crossing the threshold of the Second Industrial Revolution. Along with our Communist enemies, we are accelerating into that era on a curve of invention that promises to disappear completely from the two-dimensional progress charts we have known in the past. The limitless applications of automation, atomic energy and UNIVAC may create a technological matrix in which the familiar rules of diplomacy, the premises of political and social science, and the "laws" of classical, Keynesian or Marxian economics may simply be "inapplicable".

More important -- from the viewpoint of this Conference -- we may discover too late that even the so-called "ultimate" weapons of our military-industrial society are pointing in the wrong direction. It would be wise, therefore, to re-examine the hidden assumptions which underlie Defense Policy. This task is especially important today, for one of the strategic goals of Soviet symbol-warfare is to fracture the very structure of thought and pervert the meaning of language in which thoughts about National Survival are necessarily expressed.

The Enemy is Increasing HIS Lead And Decreasing OURS

One problem seems to be this: the Soviets are steadily closing the gap in that area of orthodox technology in which we have enjoyed a temporary advantage; at the same time, they are widening the gap in

confiscation); Peace₁ = conflict limited to economic, political, ideological and guerrilla warfare; Peace₅ = the "peace" of the desert or the dungeon; Peace₆ = absence of all struggle; Peace₇ etc., etc. In discussing "peace", it is terribly important to keep your opponent's index number or exponent in mind.

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the area of political "technology" in which we have no competence whatsoever. If we were not able to "contain" the Communist ideological thrust -- at a time when we had a decisive margin in military power -- how much worse off will we be when Moscow has achieved relative "parity" in the technical, economic, military and industrial fields?

We are gradually being maneuvered into a position in which we will have only one weapons-system and, therefore, one choice: to surrender or cremate the earth. The Communists, on the other hand, with a variety of weapons-systems will always be able to keep their atomic powder dry and advance their cause with sabotage and subversion, conspiracy, propaganda, internal revolution, administrative law, infiltration, policy diversion, coup d'etats, "guerrilla diplomacy", and psychological assaults on our willingness to take calculated risks.

Nuclear Politics Is "Economic"

At the tactical level, Soviet psychological warfare has already created "alarm, despondency and confusion" throughout the free world. It swept the resources of Czechoslovakia -- together with the vast munitions complex of Skoda -- into the Communist military empire without costing the Communists a drop of Russian blood. With its legions of highly trained cadres, it transferred four hundred million Chinese to the Communist side of the Balance-of-Power ledger. By alternately relaxing tension and increasing frustration, Soviet psywar drives its opponents from despair, through neutralism, toward panic and surrender.

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No walls of materiel can shield a nation's soul from the poisoned radiation of nuclear politics. The function of these invisible rays is to cause cancer of the will -- for once the will has been eaten away, nerveless fingers may not dare to push the buttons that launch the wonderful, gleaming gadgets on which our hopes for survival were wrongly based. The most economic way to capture any citadel is from within. For that reason it is not true that "nobody wins a modern war". If the battle is joined with the weapons of nuclear politics, the industrial potential of the capitalist world can be seized intact.

Psycho-Social Warfare Is A "Concept" and A "Weapons-Mount"

The real secret of Soviet political warfare, of course, is that it is not just a modus operandi. It is a way of life, a philosophy that permeates every facet of Communist culture and suborns all human activity for the cause of conflict. Here is how the late Robert S. Byfield, former United Nations Representative of the New York Stock Exchange, described what he called the Soviet "Fifth Weapon". Communist political warfare, wrote Mr. Byfield, is a "methodology" which enables the Kremlin to achieve the total co-ordination and integration not only of conventional weapons, but of all branches of physical science, art, diplomacy, linguistics, anthropology, economics, semantics, law and mythology. "The manipulation of traditional weapons -- plus psycho-social warfare -- in a new dimension and on a global scale brings a new equation to twentieth century warfare:

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'the whole equals the multiplication of its parts'".²

In his collected notes on what he hoped might become a "field manual" on the workings of the Fifth Weapon, Byfield explained how the Soviets have applied our technical ideal of "standard and interchangeable parts" to their geopolitical strategy:

"The first three weapons are, of course, conventional land, naval and air warfare. The Fourth Weapon is psycho-social warfare, with all its economic and diplomatic aspects. The Fifth Weapon is really the framework or weapons-mount for psycho-social-military warfare -- a framework which gives the Fourth Weapon and the other three weapons their widest conceivable field of fire, range and effectiveness.

"In other words, the Fifth 'weapon' is really a concept of total conflict. It is simply the imaginative ability to integrate and manipulate the first four weapons as co-ordinate parts of an overall operational policy. The result is the functional interchangeability of, say, a covert threat to use guided missiles against Britain, a 'germ warfare' charge against the United States, and/or a maneuver in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations."³

Byfield points out that the Fifth Weapon has revolutionized 20th Century warfare much as the interchangeability of rifle parts revolutionized infantry warfare a little over 100 years ago. He then recalls how Roger Burlingame in his Machines That Built America "describes the astonishment of British Army Officers who, at the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, witnessed the first demonstration of interchangeability conducted by the Windsor, Vermont, firm of Robbins and Lawrence".⁴

²Byfield, Robert S.; The Fifth Weapon; the Bookmailer, New York City; 1954; p.iii.

³Ibid; p. 2 (Underlined words were originally italicized.)

⁴Ibid; p.2.

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Burlingame tells this story:

"The American then took the rifles apart and gave the British officers the same sort of demonstrations Eli Whitney had once given in Washington, picking the parts at random and fitting them together. The officers crowded round watching with amazement as if the Yankee had been a magician.

"'Think what that means!' the lieutenant said. 'Rifles could be damaged in battle and repaired on the field! Wait till our ordnance people see this! It would save us hundreds of thousands of pounds.'"⁵

Byfield observes that the "Interchangeability of the diplomatic, psycho-social, propaganda and 'hardware' parts of the Soviet Total Weapon not only saves our enemy 'hundreds of thousands of pounds.' It may yet grant him a relatively inexpensive victory over Western civilization which seems to know no alternative to appeasement except the threat of radioactive rubble."⁶

Byfield then cites a specific example to illustrate the Fifth Weapon in Action:

"In the Summer of 1954, Ho Chi Minh stopped his tanks and called off his guerrilla troops in far off Indo-China, even though he stood at the threshold of total victory over demoralized French forces. Why? We may suppose that his masters' real objective was to pre-condition the French people to accept the baited hook of 'co-existence', which, in turn, led inevitably to the rejection of the European Defense Community by the French Chamber of Deputies. Without suffering any additional casualties, the Communists, via the Fifth Weapon, used the political maneuver of Viet Minh guerrillas to prevent, or at least delay, the creation of 12 German divisions -- on the other side of the world."⁷

⁵ Burlingame, Roger; Machines That Built America; Harcourt Brace and Company, New York City; 1953; p. 135.

⁶ Byfield, op. cit.; pp. 2 - 3.

⁷ Ibid; p. 3.

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U. S. vs. Soviet Psywar -- A Comparison

By comparison with the Soviet model, American psywar is a homemade auxiliary engine starved for fuel, improperly designed, and wholly disconnected from all of the flywheels, propeller shafts and communications circuits of our National Defense apparatus. This is not the fault of the able handful of men who have been assigned to the task. It can be traced, rather, to a flaw in the metaphysics of National Security -- and even to a fracture in the "spiritual structure" of a civilization which has lost some of the elan and esprit de corps with which it undertook the most exciting experiment in human freedom known to man.

Our psychological warfare today -- compared to the Soviet counterpart -- is about where General Billy Mitchell's Air Force was thirty years ago. Imagine restricting the mission of SAC to the role of reconnaissance for battalion artillery, and you have an accurate picture of how effectively we are exploiting a weapons-system that could actually prevent atomic warfare. The few experts we have in the field have been condemned to wander between the great empires of State, Defense and Foreign Aid as refugee ambassadors of a non-existent kingdom. Their credentials have never been recognized. Yet, on the other side of the Iron Curtain, political warfare not only has equal representation on the Soviet Joint-Chiefs-of-Staff; it is the Joint-Chiefs-of-Staff -- and the Foreign Ministry as well.

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What Can Be Done About It?

So much for a cursory analysis of Soviet "Fifth Weapon" capability. The practical question is: "What can be done about it?" Fortunately, some concrete answers have already been suggested by a practical-minded engineer, the Chairman of RCA. A good deal of primary thinking has been reduced to a "working paper" in General Sarnoff's Program For A Political Offensive Against World Communism, a public document which, I believe, can be obtained by writing to RCA in New York. My earnest hope is that a Special Committee, recruited from the members of this Conference, might be willing to probe the problems outlined in that paper and then help fashion the technical blueprints for an American Fifth Weapon.

The Soviet System Is Vulnerable

The situation is far from hopeless. For, owing to one of the grim jokes of history, Soviet capability in psycho-social combat is matched by Soviet vulnerability to those same weapons. We have said that nuclear politics is the "science of splitting the opposition". Some social orders are far more fissionable than others, and, in the table of political elements, the Communist Empire corresponds to uranium. If we can find ways to subject that unstable mass to pitiless bombardment -- with the neutrons of "competitive subversion" -- the release of human energy from inside the slave world can destroy forever the war-making power of the Kremlin.

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That hypothesis can be documented. Everywhere behind the Iron Curtain, suspicion and fear are cracking the Communist system. Potential resistance needs only to be activated and given purposeful direction. Here are some of the known facts:

- a. Between 1919 and 1939 there were 30 sizable revolts, rebellions and plots against the Kremlin dictatorship.
- b. At least 12 million Soviet citizens are in Communist prison camps. Most of those people have been accused of political crimes.
- c. In the USSR it is necessary for the regime to employ about two million security police, including special agents to watch the secret police.
- d. In Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, as well as in Russia, frequent purges of the highest ranks of the party, the army and the bureaucracy are necessary to prevent "treason". In the Baltic states and in the Asiatic Republics, resistance has been so widespread and stubborn that the Soviets have been forced to use genocide to stamp out rebellion.
- e. An undeclared form of "civil war" between peasant and commissar rages continuously throughout many remote provinces of the USSR.
- f. The Germans, in 1941, almost overthrew the unpopular Soviet government by promising freedom to oppressed nationalities.

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- g. At least 3 million Red Army troops surrendered to the Germans in the first eight months of the war, and a Russian general, Vlassov, led a Russian army against Stalin.
- h. Three hundred thousand Ukrainian nationalists fought against the Kremlin. (Only Nazi atrocities enabled the Communist party to regain temporarily the loyalty of the Soviet peoples.)
- i. The Red Army itself is unreliable. Thousands of officers and men have deserted to the West since the end of World War II -- in spite of forced repatriation, shameful neglect and Moscow's effort to promote "redefection".
- j. Communist leaders do not trust Red Army officers. The high command of the army is frequently purged or reshuffled. Military heroes disappear into the shadows when they grow too popular with the Russian people.
- k. Mutual fear and distrust between political and military leaders, and the hatred of Red Army officers for the police spies of the MVD are corroding the Soviet dictatorship, just as the rivalry between the German Wehrmacht and Hitler's SS helped to disintegrate Nazi power.
- l. Satellite armies are even more untrustworthy.*

* The following books are especially helpful in documenting the Resistance Potential inside the Communist Empire:

Anders, Lt. Gen. W., Hitler's Defeat in Russia. Regnery, 1953.
Fainsod, Merle, How Russia is Ruled. Harvard University Press, 1953.
Lyons, Eugene, Our Secret Allies: The Peoples of Russia. Little, Brown, 1953.
Schwarz, Solomon., The Jews in Soviet Russia. Syracuse University Press, 1951.
"Slave Labor in the Soviet World." AFL Free Trade Union Committee, 1947 - 53.

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Needed: Stress Analysis of Enemy Society

"Who will guard the guard?" is the question that tears at the whole Communist fabric of tension and control. Think what could happen if America -- with the resources of our "melting pot" society -- were to amplify that question in a dozen different inflections. The Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberation have kept alive some remnants of hope in our allies behind the Iron Curtain. But propaganda is not enough. We need to develop the whole "family of weapons" which belongs to the arena of psycho-social combat.

The "Technicians" at this Military-Industrial Conference could be enormously helpful in that job. In the Western World scientific method and the engineering mind have not yet been applied to the problems of nuclear politics. No one has yet performed a "stress analysis" of Soviet Society. No one has determined the resonance frequency at which an external force could result in self-destructive oscillation. No one on our side of the Curtain has dared to imagine a "target-seeking" psywar missile, triggered by the hidden aspirations of men who live in slavery.

Nuclear "Stalemate" May = Guerrilla Warfare

It may be that the Ultimate Weapon of the next war is Man himself; victory will go to that side which sends the strongest unbroken signals to the brain and heart. The guided missile race could create a situation in which the balance of power would be determined by the ingenuity and stamina of guerrilla captains, armed with portable

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transmitters and miniature printing presses -- as well as machine guns. Moreover, defection of one man can turn an opposing army in the other direction, ground an enemy air fleet on neutral soil, or tear out the vitals from an espionage network. Paradoxically, the age of atomic firepower may see the re-emergence of the individual "champion" whose daring and skill in the arts of irregular warfare can engineer a coup d'etat while the hardware stands immobilized by nuclear politics.*

Irregular Weapons For America

These lessons in unorthodox warfare suggest a plan for the future. There are already hundreds of thousands of Iron Curtain refugees on our side of the Iron Curtain. Each is a "symbol" in the minds of his still enslaved countrymen. A Volunteer Freedom Corps of Free Chinese, Free Poles, Free Balts, Free Czechs, Free Hungarians -- and Free Russians (together with many others) -- might be attached to allied or UN armies in both Europe and the Far East.

Imagine a battalion of Free Polish Volunteers, stationed opposite the Communist-controlled army of Red Poland, a satellite army composed of many freedom-loving soldiers pressed into service against their

* In our own past, Washington subverted the Hessians; and that great scientist-statesman, Benjamin Franklin, connived at smuggling and other "black operations" on the high seas in order to wage economic warfare in the cause of independence. Men like Stonewall Jackson or Giuseppe Garibaldi or a Boer Commando named Smuts will never be obsolescent. Even in World War II, Otto Skorzeny was worth 20 German divisions, while Hitler was almost overthrown by a handful of anti-Nazi patriots. On the other side of the world, in Japan, a master spy named Richard Sorge enabled Moscow to make policy decisions that altered the course of human history.

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will. The Free Polish unit would serve as a political magnet to increase the rate of defection, a psycho-social instrument that would enormously complicate the command function of Communist officials and, in time, compel the enemy to smother all military efficiency in an insupportable web of counter-security. Such a Freedom Corps -- valuable as a Fourth Weapon during a period of Cold War -- would have other special assignments in case of renewed Communist aggression.

Korea re-emphasized what military historians had learned from recording the mass defection of Soviet Nationalities during World War II: the rigidities of the Communist police state cannot be imposed on the flux of war. At one stage of the Korean War, North Korean and Chinese conscripts surrendered by the thousands, waving safe conduct leaflets prepared by Army and Air Force psywar units. Our Fourth Weapon did work in Korea; but, unfortunately, we were still thinking in tactical rather than strategic terms. We treated ideological defectors as conventional prisoners -- not as potential volunteer allies who would have been glad to talk through loud speakers to their erstwhile comrades across the line.

If the Communists start another limited war, we should be prepared to rush battalions of Free Corps paratroopers -- Chinese, Russians, Indo-Chinese, et.al. -- to the scene of combat. Knowing the mores and language of the units they oppose, these elite commandos can arouse the resistance potential always latent in peasant conscripts whose farms have been collectivized and whose families have been purged by the Communists. The West, if it is shrewd enough to develop its own Fourth Weapon, can actually set up recruiting stations for enemy battalions on the field of battle.

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The Unique Value of the Conference

May I conclude with an appeal to the Conference? This is a unique experiment in the cross-fertilization of ideas relating to National Survival. The sponsors of this gathering have shown great vision in bringing together experts from industry, science, the armed forces and professional societies. Here you are pooling special insights and evolving what amounts to a many-sided "Philosophy" of Defense, through which planning and procurement, research and technical manpower, education, finance and military strategy can be mixed and managed in the best interests of the nation.

But in this century of total war, might it not be wise to evolve a Metaphysics of Survival in which Military-Industrial power is related to the "other" weapons-systems now available to our enemy? You may reply that this is not the job of the scientist and the businessman, or the general and engineer. The answer to that objection, I think, is that in our democracy the citizen-technician cannot abdicate his responsibility to take part in framing those political "questions for research" which predetermine strategy.*

We must all stand watch over the moral gyroscope of our civilization. If it fails at the critical hour, no one will be able to find the target or aim the guns. What we may need, therefore, is a new kind of Defense University devoted to:

* In our 20th Century world, the man who analyzes the factors which guide a nation's destiny might paraphrase the counsel a poet once gave to a king: "I care not who makes a country's laws or writes its songs if I can frame the question for research." A problem well-stated is a problem half solved; conversely, the wrong questions can misdirect energy, talent, treasure -- and even an entire civilization.

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- a. interdisciplinary research -- in political as well as scientific fields; and
- b. the integration of the metaphysics of atomic firepower with the philosophy of psycho-social combat.*

Conclusion

One word more. The ultimate weapon is neither military-industrial power nor psychological warfare. The ultimate weapon is human courage -- for without courage, airpower could never complete its mission, and plans for psychological operations would be pigeonholed in some government department. Courage, in turn, is based on faith in certain unalterable moral laws. Our nation, as President Eisenhower has so often remarked, was founded on belief in those same laws.

Unfortunately, some people have forgotten the true meaning of America. The Communists, who distort the meaning of language, have stolen some of our most precious symbols. We are already half afraid of the honorable word "revolution", although we are the true revolutionaries. It was an American Revolution that gave the world its finest revolutionary ideal --- the notion that government is the servant, not the master, of the people.

The Communists -- who call us "reactionary" -- have turned society back to the days of the Pharaohs. The monuments to "Socialist Progress" erected in the USSR -- like the pyramids of ancient Egypt -- have been built with slave labor.

On the other hand, we Americans have developed the most flexible, continually progressing society known to man. Our so-called "masses" already enjoy luxuries undreamed of in other parts of the world.

* A rigorous philosophy of National Defense would include analysis of the premises -- both stated and "hidden" -- which predetermine American

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Our unique type of capitalism -- almost as different from European cartel-capitalism as it is from Socialism -- produces more welfare and more social justice than Communist functionaries would even dare to imagine. But beyond that is the fact that we are truly free men. We have plenty AND freedom, together.

We are, in short, so securely based that we can even convert some Communists. In every play of the game, we must be tough-minded; but the strong can afford to be charitable. There are "Communists" behind the Curtain who are only nominal members of the party; they joined to advance their professional careers as engineers or doctors or scientists. There are pathetic wretches who have been blackmailed into serving the MVD. There may be men at the highest levels of the bureaucracy and the Red Army who despise themselves secretly for what they are forced to do. One task of the American Fourth Weapon is to open escape hatches for fellow human beings. Their conversion could save millions of lives.

One word of caution. The American Fourth Weapon, when it is properly developed, will be almost the reverse of the Soviet counterpart. It will be overt, not covert. We cannot compete in deceit, in trickery, in bribery and in subversion with the Communists. We must understand their methods, not emulate them. For if every facet of human activity is perverted by "gamesmanship", the open society will be destroyed -- even though, technically, it "defeats" the Communists.

policy -- for example: (1) that, under no circumstances, should the U.S. "go it alone"; (2) that Communism is caused primarily by poverty and can be checked by "economic development"; (3) that it is "sound policy" to balance the budget since the Communists are "trying to force us to spend ourselves to death"; (4) that the Soviets are rational and won't do anything "foolish"; (5) that it is better strategy to "win over" neutral nations with soft words than to encourage the underground forces inside the Communist world with tough-minded policies; etc., etc.

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It is doubtful that America has lost ground in the world because she tries to apply ethics to foreign policy. It may be that we have not been moral enough. Machiavelli fashioned one key to human experience, but that key unlocks a narrow, ill-lighted closet. A man named Washington held the key to a brighter room when he said: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God." On this framework we can erect the American Fourth Weapon -- and help the rest of mankind to build (for themselves and in their own ways) mansions of liberty and economic security.

It is often said that we are engaged in a War of Ideas. Unfortunately, we have been deploying little, "status quo" ideas in a vain effort to contain the dynamic gospel advanced by the missionaries and conquistadors of the Communist Church Militant. It is time that we uncover our ideological "heavy artillery". Do we really believe that governments which do not rule with the consent of the governed are illegal and should be abolished? Then let us extend that article of faith beyond the limits of the Anglo-Saxon world. Moral law applies to all human beings -- including Slavs and Chinese.

By the test of our own Declaration of Independence, all Communist rule is illegitimate and deserves to be overthrown by peoples seeking life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And if we are as true to our faith as the Communists are to theirs, we should help plan and promote the social and political disintegration of Moscow's criminal conspiracy against the Russian, Chinese and "satellite" peoples. Eternal hostility to tyranny: that is the big idea which lies rusting in the arsenal of a Young Republic whose message once inspired the whole world to hope that the Divine Right of kings and dictators had been forever banished from the earth.

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About the Author

Frank Rockwell Barnett, former Wabash College professor, is a World War II veteran who became a Russian interpreter for the 69th Infantry Division, the first American unit to meet the Red Army on the Elbe River in April, 1945. (Previously, he was a student of geopolitics and Russian conversation, history and culture at Syracuse University).

After serving as a Military Government official in Berlin, he won a Rhodes Scholarship from Indiana and read philosophy, politics and economics at Oxford University. While in England, he had opportunities to revisit Berlin during the Russian blockade and the airlift, to participate in a summer seminar on political science at the University of Zurich, and to interview exiles from the Communist Empire who crowded into London after the fall of Czechoslovakia and the purges in Poland, Hungary and other Iron Curtain nations.

He is a Director -- and former Executive Secretary -- of the American Friends of Russian Freedom (270 Park Avenue, New York City), a private committee which gives food, clothing, language training and useful work to anti-Communist Russian escapees. His proposal to recruit a "Legion of Liberation", printed in the Congressional Record in 1951, helped induce lawmakers to appropriate \$100,000,000 to form Iron Curtain refugees into military units for defense of the free world.

Subsequently, Mr. Barnett became associated with The Richardson Foundation, Inc. as Director of Research. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Gamma Delta, the American Legion, and the American Association of Rhodes Scholars. He lectures widely -- on Cold War topics -- to foreign relations, university, business and military groups.

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APPENDIX I

"DRAFT BLUEPRINTS FOR AN AMERICAN FOURTH WEAPON"

Preface

There is neither pride nor claim of authorship for the following ideas. They have emerged from random reading and conversations with a great many thoughtful people, a number of whom came from behind the Iron Curtain and were themselves victims of Soviet nuclear politics. These draft blueprints are sketched solely for the purpose of stimulating others to evolve the workable ideas and design the practical mechanisms which will enable the Free World to neutralize, isolate and fragment Communist Power with "fourth dimensional warfare" before Moscow forces us to choose between surrender and radioactive ruin.

I. The Problem

- A. Almost by definition, Fourth Dimensional Warfare is irregular, unorthodox and "intangible". It is the "additive" for existing batteries rather than an auxiliary engine or an additional crankshaft. It is impossible, therefore, to draw up a formal Table of Organization for the most effective use of this novel weapons-system. Actually, the Fourth Weapon achieves its optimum scope when it is "fired" by men who (according to the job classification) have other duties and responsibilities.
- B. In the long run, we cannot hope to dissolve Communist tyranny with nuclear politics until our military and diplomatic corps, our foreign aid programs, our overseas business and labor activities, our policy-planning in Washington and our church, educational and civic groups are staffed with men who have had professional training in the strategy and tactics of fourth dimensional warfare. (As a bare minimum, our leadership must be trained to recognize the "camouflage and concealment" which surrounds most psycho-social gun emplacements.)
- C. It is not that we need cadres to emulate the Communists; but we desperately need leadership at all levels of American life who understand the methods of the enemy and have sufficient vitality and sophistication to frustrate Soviet goals with means compatible with our own ethical code.

Therefore, seminars, conferences, and study programs which deal with psycho-social combat techniques should be sponsored

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by Business and Labor groups, Engineering and Professional Societies, the various "war colleges" of the Armed Services, Foreign Affairs committees, Retired Officers' and Veterans' groups, Universities, the Church, Women's Organizations, Editors and Publishers, TV and Radio Script-Writers and Directors, etc., etc.

Perhaps a central Training Institute is required for the most efficient use of scarce human resources. In any event, means must be found to persuade American leadership -- both inside and outside government -- to do its "homework" and to become less specialized and more flexible.

II. Possible First Steps Inside Government

A. A Joint Congressional Committee on Cold War Strategy

1. The people who developed nuclear physics were physicists. The people who can help to develop nuclear politics are politicians. "Politics" -- even within the legal and ethical framework of American Society -- tolerates some of the principles of psycho-social warfare. The "boomerang", the "ricochet", the "band wagon", the strategy of indirection, the tactic of "divide and conquer" -- these concepts are not unfamiliar to practicing politicians. The man who understands the use of patronage, the importance of timing, the power of propaganda, the art of lobbying, the value of cloakroom diplomacy is ready for the graduate course in nuclear politics. Perhaps he should teach it. Certainly he can impart special insights, from his own store of practical knowledge, to those who may not have the "intuitive" skills which are part of a master politician's make-up.
2. For sociological reasons, politicians have heretofore not participated very widely in the international power struggle. For this reason, a Joint Congressional Committee on Cold War Strategy might be as important as the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. In one instance, the Congressmen must be guided by the experts; but in the other, Congressmen are the experts. When they lose their expertise, they are removed by Darwinian Law from their position on Congressional Committees.
3. Consider also the cold war advantage of commingling the academic wisdom of, say, Princeton with the professional instincts of a shrewd political "boss" who controls a state government or precipitates his choice into the White House. Men of that talent should be encouraged to set their sights beyond the Postmaster Generalship. They should be recruited as cold war Generals and sent out to win the "precincts" of Africa and

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Southeast Asia. As dispensers of Point IV "patronage", they would use American largesse in ways that would be intelligible to the majority of mankind who understand the simple rules of helping friends and undercutting enemies.

4. A Joint Cold War Committee of Congress would have enough power and prestige to:
 - a. Collect and collate ideas from the best minds in government, industry, communications, labor, education, the foreign affairs field, etc., etc.;
 - b. Appropriate funds for increased governmental activities and supervise those activities to make them more efficient politically;
 - c. "Run interference" for executive agencies in the Cold War area;
 - d. Co-ordinate and integrate the "fourth weapon" with existing military, diplomatic and economic instruments of national defense;

Some members of the Joint Cold War Committee would undoubtedly belong to other key Committees: Foreign Affairs, Armed Services, Judiciary, Atomic Energy, Appropriations, etc., etc. These members would serve as connecting links to interrelate and intermix the multitude of ingredients which make up the "recipe" for psycho-social combat -- with all its military, economic, legal, educational, diplomatic and educational components.

5. To focus attention on the "irregular" features of the Fourth Weapon, it might even be wise deliberately to disregard precedent and create executive agencies, some of whose members -- or at least part-time consultants -- would be Congressmen still active in the legislative branch of government. This would give America some of the advantages of British Cabinet Government for the conduct of Cold War Strategy, while at the same time it would preserve the separation of powers in other vital areas.

B. Changes in the Executive Departments

1. Although, theoretically, rigid categories and an orthodox Table of Organization cannot be permitted to inhibit the management of an American Fourth Weapon, appropriations, power, prestige and "patronage" flow only through legal and recognizable entities, at least in our society.

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2. Moreover -- in a given world of competing bureaucratic empires -- it is essential, in order to ensure a reasonable allocation of priorities, to have at least some of the trappings of empire for one's own enterprise (including ambassadors to Capitol Hill, the great news magazines, university campuses, research foundations, etc., etc.)
3. Although the battle cry of nuclear politics is "disorganized organization", it is imperative, therefore, to create formal units and a chain of command that will:
 - a. Present the "brief" for the Fourth Weapon at the highest policy-making levels;
 - b. Ensure follow-through at all the interdepartmental and operational levels where policy decisions can be diffused, misdirected, or simply blunted by ineptitude and apathy;
 - c. Provide a rallying point for "psywarriors" who are now isolated in departments inhospitable to the concept of the Fourth Weapon;
 - d. Enable those who believe in nuclear politics to have a fair chance to articulate their doctrine so that other branches of government must at least consider the claims for the metaphysics, epistemology and aesthetics of the Fourth Weapon.

(Once the Air Force became a separate entity, for example, it not only developed its own weapons-system; it permeated the senior services with its own philosophy and obliged admirals and generals to become "airpower minded".

Theoretically, the ideas of men like Billy Mitchell eventually would have filtered up through ancient hierarchies to influence policy. Whether osmosis would have taken place soon enough to ensure national survival is another question. The only effective way to fracture a cartel -- intellectual or otherwise -- is to put another power group in the field for trial by competition.)

4. Changes in organizational structure should dramatize the importance of Fourth Dimensional Warfare as a PRIMARY weapon. In today's world -- where mass media, propaganda and international peace fronts constrain traditional diplomacy -- military "hardware" is only one component of the larger whole: Psycho-Social Combat. So is "foreign aid" or, for that matter, "diplomacy".

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5. One positive step might be to appoint Assistant Secretaries -- in the Departments of State, Defense, Commerce, Labor, and the Treasury -- who would be assigned the task of developing and co-ordinating the Fourth Weapon. In the Pentagon -- where rank gets things accomplished -- we need three-star generals in charge of psywar and equal representation for the Fourth Weapon on the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
6. What is most important, of course, is to alter the climate of bureaucracy to bring about a long-run change in the hierarchy of values in the minds of career officer and civil servant. Today the professional soldier in America must avoid being permanently "shelved" in the intelligence or psywar function. Men who have great talent -- and a genuine desire to devote their careers to these areas -- have to dedicate most of their years of service to other matters if they are going to be a "success". The system obliges ambitious, brilliant men to dissipate their energies in answering the wrong questions.
7. The same thing, of course, is true in the Department of State and even in Central Intelligence. Men are sometimes caught in a terrible conflict between what they know is important and routine "duty" which will not destroy their careers in their chosen profession. It is not the business of men who are secure in industry or academic life to blame them; it is the business of all of us to help alter the system to permit good men to achieve "success" in truly advancing the cause of national security. This means that not only Congress but the public at large must be educated to the need for developing the Fourth Weapon as an alternative to atomic war -- even though this kind of "insurance" will be costly and in addition to our expenditures for other items in the National Defense arsenal. The Fourth Weapon is no easy alternative; indeed, the Fourth Weapon can only be employed by a people whose leaders are agreed that "there is no substitute for sacrifice".

III. Possible First Steps Outside Government

- A. A National Service University for "Graduate Training in Public Affairs"
 1. The Communists -- with their multiplicity of weapons-systems -- have laid siege to every corner of our culture. It follows that at least some men in our society must inventory, understand and co-ordinate our resources for waging total "peace".
 2. Part of the job has already been started. At one level, we have "married" science and the military; at another level, we have mixed industrial management with defense requirements. Inside government, interdepartmental committees try to solve

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complex military-diplomatic-economic-political equations. (Very often, however, specialists turn out to be intractable "marriage partners"; and interdepartmental "equations", composed of arbitrary groupings of irregular fractions, prove to be insolvable.)

3. A good deal of "interdisciplinary" research and training is already well under way in the Rand Corporation, the Army War College, the Air War College, the Naval War College, MIT, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the National War College, the Harvard Defense Studies Program, the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, the Harvard Advanced Management Program and other institutions.
4. Our "recipe" for total National Defense, however, still omits indispensable ingredients. In all our existing institutions, "political" and "psycho-social" aspects are underemphasized or neglected altogether. Hardware, technology, logistics, management, communications, personnel, procurement -- all of the orthodox constituents of "war" (as we understand it) -- are surveyed and interrelated. But where are the students and teachers of the "organizational weapon", institutional conflict, reverse psychotherapy, political warfare, nuclear politics?
5. Is it not time to take our "graduate students" in the conventional arts of National Defense and give them a post doctoral seminar in the strategy and tactics of fourth dimensional warfare? And should we not introduce into the faculty and student body of a National Service University not only atomic scientists, generals and officials of State, Defense and CIA, but also:
 - a. Congressional Leaders from the key committees on the Armed Services, Foreign Relations, Appropriations, Internal Security, Atomic Energy, etc.;
 - b. Labor leaders -- especially those with experience in international organizations;
 - c. Anthropologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, experts in semantics and cybernetics, historians and philosophers, et.al.;
 - d. Bankers, brokers and businessmen -- those who understand the instrument panels of the American economy;
 - e. Communications experts -- including publishers, TV producers, editors, network executives, advertising and public relations specialists, etc.

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6. One mission of a National Service University would be to produce cadres of "generalists" who could mix and manage all of the disparate human, political and "specialized" factors that must, somehow, be put together voluntarily if a free society is to survive the massive and co-ordinated assault aimed at the very roots of our society by the Political General Staff of the Communist World Revolution. The specialist in the gray flannel suit is no match for the cunning and mobility of Genghis Khan. What we require is a return to the Renaissance ideal of the leader who knew poetry and politics, statecraft and science, business and war, philosophy and art. Yet the bust in the entrance hall of our National Service University need not be that of a Medici. It can be Ben Franklin's.

B. Enlistment of Private Groups for Action in the Field of National Security

1. In Communist Eurasia, the Party -- through government -- can mobilize the total resources of its empire for struggle. In America, enormous reservoirs of financial power, technical skill, intelligence and organizational vitality always remain outside government -- even in war time. To offset the integrated and multi-leveled Communist thrust, therefore, it is imperative that Private Groups voluntarily engage themselves on some Cold War battleground; for, even under optimum conditions, our limited government cannot oppose Soviet TOTAL government on all sectors of the front. If it did, it would have to usurp the powers reserved to the people.
2. America's Professional and Technical Societies, Business and Labor Organizations, Church and Educational Groups, Women's Clubs and Veterans' Associations have so much power, prestige and dynamism that no one dares imagine the positive programs that would result from, say, 50 major groups putting "National Survival" on their own agendas.

The following suggestions are made only to stimulate the creative thinking of leaders of private groups. Once that leadership addresses itself to answering the question, "What Can Our Group Do To Promote National Survival?", there will be no shortage of far better plans than these:

- a. The American Bar Association could sponsor research to determine to what extent, if any, the Communists -- and their allies -- are exploiting administrative law as a "weapons-system" against American-style capitalism. Khrushchev's recent boast that Communism might win the world by "parliamentary" victories emphasizes the need for study and action on this front.

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(The contributions which the American Bar can make to this field, however, are virtually limitless, for lawyers -- like politicians -- have a professional instinct for some of the techniques of political warfare. We should not forget that the first rule for "winning a case out of court" -- the civilian counterpart to psychological warfare -- is never to relax the tensions of opposing counsel in the conference settlement. The attorney who first makes overtures to peace and compromise is generally presumed to have a bad case; consequently, a clever and ruthless opposition can press him to the wall. On the other hand, the man who has the courage and the confidence to take the case to a jury seldom has to. In planning cold war strategy against the Soviets, we should remember that the laws of human psychology -- which apply to the conduct of domestic business, professional and political life -- are relevant to international power politics.)

- b. The American Bankers Association, The American Finance Association, The American Economic Association, et.al. could appoint a joint committee to blueprint the "fourth weapon" in the realm of finance. (This paper, for example, is heavily weighted on the side of psycho-social combat and ignores completely the strategy and tactics of international trade, currency exchange, bank discount rate, tariffs, economic development, "economic warfare", etc., etc.) Think what might happen if the best minds in the world of finance, central banking, investment banking and economic theory would revive the concept of Political Economy -- with the accent on Political.
- c. The National Industrial Conference Board, The NAM, The Conference of Business Economists, The U. S. Chamber of Commerce, The CED, and The National Security Industrial Association -- among others -- could appoint a joint committee to define American Industry's "mission" in developing the business component of the Fourth Weapon. This might mean sponsoring seminars -- or even undertaking to erect an Academy of Public Affairs for businessmen who, whether they like it or not, can no longer afford to abdicate their responsibility for safeguarding the moral, political, economic and ideological premises of our civilization. By and large -- and with certain notable exceptions -- the "Business Elite" has absented itself from the main battlefield of our time. If the "Business Society" is destroyed outright -- or simply corroded by politics and propaganda -- business leadership has only itself to blame. After all, every great corporation has more than enough "surplus" to allow some of its best brains to stop thinking about production and sales and start thinking about National Defense, Citizenship Education, Foreign Policy and moral philosophy. These are complex

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problems, of course, and the only way for businessmen to attack them systematically -- and with sophistication -- is through the medium of an Academy or Institute. (We need, in effect, the equivalent of the Harvard School of Advanced Management in the areas of Public Affairs and Citizenship Training.)

- d. The Air Force Association, The Navy League, The American Legion, The Reserve Officers Association, et.al. have unlimited opportunities to co-ordinate civilian and military thinking about National Security. Citizen-soldiers stand with a foot in both worlds. As reservists or retired officers they can exercise their right to criticize and -- by educating public opinion -- change government policy. They have an obligation to provide a "civilian framework" of moral and political courage that will enable the career military to safeguard National Security. Retired officers who are now in the "top command" of industry have a special duty to persuade their fellow Directors that American Industry must help establish a climate of opinion in which intelligent decisions about National Security can be made and implemented.
- e. Church and Women's Groups can help to rescue escapees from Communism and rehabilitate former members of the conspiracy who, soul-sick and disillusioned, want to return to the sanity of the open society. The American Fourth Weapon can win significant victories by effecting "conversion" and providing "asylum". The Communists are mortally afraid of defection from their own ranks, for one key defector -- by exposing an espionage network -- can cripple or destroy a major operation against the Free World. By offering forgiveness, amnesty, jobs and a chance to "go straight", we can undercut Communist discipline.

At the present time, people who leave the Party and testify to American Security Agencies are vilified and treated like moral lepers. Oddly enough, ex-Communists often find it more difficult to find jobs than Communists or pro-Communists. The Party takes care of its own; it does not leave its wounded on the field of battle. Conversely, the Party tries to discredit, isolate and "disemploy" former members who can harm it with disclosures, and thus discourage others from defecting.

Church and Women's groups, among others, could do much to offset Communist hatred and vicious lies with mercy, tolerance and a helping hand for the reformed Party member who wants to do penance for his sin of treason.

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It is equally important to aid anti-Communist escapees from behind the Iron Curtain, to backstop words of friendship with deeds of friendship. By showing compassion for Russian defectors, for example, private groups can drive another wedge between the Russian peoples and the Communist conspiracy. Every Red Army escapee we help adds to the intolerable tension which already exists between the Soviet military and the minions of the Party and Secret Police.

- f. Professional and Technical Societies can -- through international conferences and their journals -- reach out to the engineers, lawyers, economists, scientists and doctors of the Soviet Union. Professional men behind the Iron Curtain are caught in the Communist web; they must serve the Party or lose their careers and even their lives. But as human beings, with wives and children, they too hope for some way to avoid atomic war. And they hope for some way to free themselves and their families from the burden of terror and slavery.

Surely ways can be found to put "non-technical" messages in the scientific publications that pass through the Curtain. Surely there are ways to "code" new kinds of information and establish new communications circuits between our scientists and theirs. Who knows what the "feedback" may tell us about the direction of our own Foreign Policy?

This much we do know, however: political leaders on both sides of the Curtain are increasingly dependent -- in "defense" areas -- on the expertise of scientists, engineers and other "technicians". The minds and hearts, the souls and loyalties of the Technical Community are supremely important, therefore, in the equations of Fourth Dimensional Warfare. Dare we hope that Science -- everywhere and at all times -- hungers for freedom, thirsts for truth? If that be so, the hunger and thirst in the Communist-dominated Scientific Community must be an elemental, repressed force that could disintegrate Moscow's power if only our scholars and scientists can learn new techniques for making effective contact with their Russian counterparts.

- g. International Groups. The Communist International provides our enemy with a world-wide network of non-governmental effectives. Among free world peoples, communication and action tends to be monopolized -- and ossified -- by governments. We need, perhaps, an Anglo-American "Holding Company" to co-ordinate -- for certain projects -- the activities of, say, Chatham House and the Council on Foreign Relations. We

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need, perhaps, not the union of NATO governments -- but the voluntary co-operation of great private institutions (universities, banks, corporations, labor unions, etc.) which can provide the moral, cultural, economic and psychological matrix for a Western military shield behind which -- as we find our courage -- we can forge and wield the sword of counter-revolutionary political warfare.